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SUBJECT: INDONESIA ANTI-TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS (TIP)
REPORT, March 2005 to March 2006

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SUMMARY

11. (SBU) Indonesia remained a major sending country for international trafficking in persons (TIP) and faced a very significant internal trafficking problem. Indonesia was also a receiving country for trafficked prostitutes, though their numbers were very small relative to Indonesian victims. The Government of Indonesia (GOI) recognized trafficking as a crime and a serious national issue, and took significant strides this year in law enforcement, against corruption-related complicity, and by completing a final draft in February 2007 of a strong, comprehensive anti-trafficking bill. Indonesia has not, however, met minimal TIP standards under U.S. law.

12. (SBU) Indonesia achieved modest to significant progress in combating trafficking in specific areas over the past year, with strong political will evident at top levels of government and at many local levels. The House of Representatives (DPR) completed the final draft in February 2007 on a strong comprehensive anti-trafficking bill, which is scheduled for consideration by the full House and likely passage on March 20, 2007. This bill is expected to give law enforcement the clear mandate needed to go after all forms of trafficking, including debt bondage and sexual exploitation. The Yudhoyono administration's political will to eliminate trafficking was demonstrated in the past year. In August 2006, President Yudhoyono issued a presidential decree on reform policy on placement and protection system of Indonesian migrant workers to provide more comprehensive protection of migrant workers and better coordination among agencies. The President furthermore has appointed senior level officials in key positions with clear instructions to eliminate trafficking, resulting in noticeable progress.

13. (SBU) Law enforcement against traffickers increased in 2006 over 2005, with arrests up 29 percent from 110 to 142, prosecutions up 87 percent from 30 to 56, and convictions up 112 percent from 17 to 36. The average sentence in these cases was 54 months in prison compared to 30 months in 2005, a 55 percent increase. The government trained over a thousand law enforcement officials on fighting trafficking, oftentimes in inter-agency courses also attended by NGOs. The numbers of special anti-trafficking police and prosecutors increased. The National Plan of Action (NPA) bore fruit in more effective national coordination. As President Yudhoyono's clear stance on clean government filtered

down this year through the ranks, corrupt officials complicit in trafficking have been fired, prosecuted or transferred, an opening salvo against official impunity. Cooperation among various government offices and international NGOs at Indonesian diplomatic missions in key sending areas resulted in an increase of rescued victims, and more humane repatriation. Ministry of Manpower and national police took initial steps to cooperate in providing protection of trafficked migrant workers by signing a February 2007 MOU which provides for joint enforcement at all transit airports and ports. Under the 2006 Presidential migrant worker protection decree, an agency to place and protect Indonesian migrant workers began operating in early 2007 with an initial inter-agency meeting and public policy statements promising to protect workers from exploitation. Under

MOUs with international donors, the GOI began funding this year the psychological rehabilitation of trafficking victims, a third or more of the cost of their medical treatment, and health services in Malaysia, in addition to the law enforcement costs of dozens of police investigators and prosecutors dedicated to trafficking at the national level, as well as a significant increase in local anti-trafficking police units across the country. The number of women's police desks helping victims skyrocketed to 280 in 2006, while national trafficking police investigators nearly doubled to 20.

14. (SBU) Significant progress in a comprehensive and coordinated attack on trafficking took place at the provincial and local levels as NPA local task forces took root in communities across the country, 17 at last count. Local task forces resulted in good cooperation among law enforcement agencies, social service providers and NGOs in many communities as these task forces met frequently. Some provincial governments contributed funding to anti-trafficking efforts and also passed local laws to protect citizens from trafficking, not waiting for the passage of national legislation. These efforts took place both under the leadership of the national Ministry of Women's Empowerment and spontaneously at the local levels due to grassroots civil society campaigns. Brisk media coverage of trafficking continued, led by both government and NGO campaigns. The GOI made good progress in sheltering victims abroad, repatriating victims and expanding victim services for both externally and internally trafficked persons. A fourth integrated medical recovery center opened to treat victims.

15. (SBU) Indonesia made limited or no headway on other difficult anti-trafficking steps. Illegal involvement of individual security force members and corrupt officials in prostitution linked to trafficking remained unchecked. Progress is just beginning to curb corruption that allows Indonesians to be easily trafficked abroad, last year's efforts focusing on children and to a lesser extent on women. While the Ministry of Manpower continued crackdowns on illegal activities of migrant manpower agencies, there was no official recognition of the reality that Indonesia's migrant worker system does not protect workers from exploitation, debt bondage and other abuses. The numbers of cases of severe abuse of trafficked victims overseas, particularly those in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, remained alarming. An MOU with Malaysia signed in May 2006 ceded some basic workers' rights to employers making it easier for Indonesians to be trapped in human bondage. Government spending on trafficking is far from covering minimal needs, and there is an urgent need for the government to take over services now being funded by foreign governments and international NGOs.

16. (SBU) Within the context of the country's emerging democracy, Indonesia's anti-trafficking commitment faced the same serious constraints affecting other issues of national importance: endemic corruption, the weakness of government structures and law enforcement at all levels, limited public budgets, poverty, a weak public education system, and competing priorities from other urgent issues. Nevertheless, Indonesia made some significant gains in the fight against trafficking in persons. Indonesia continued to welcome and cooperate with international anti-Trafficking assistance, and anti-trafficking partnership with the U.S. Mission and U.S. grantees remained strong.

17. (SBU) Indonesia has made important strides in trafficking, all the more so if the anti-trafficking bill passes in March 2007, but will still need to address some

major hurdles:

--Implementation of the anti-trafficking law, which will require both continued political will and socializing the

law among law enforcement officials and civil society. Indonesia will need continued international support in this effort.

--Greatly accelerated efforts to combat the corruption that feeds trafficking, particularly among law enforcement officials, including the military and ministry of manpower officials.

--Increased GOI funding for law enforcement against traffickers and for rescue, recovery and reintegration of victims. At the same time, this is a great financial burden for a country struggling with so many other pressing issues. International support will be required for the next few years to allow the GOI time to budget for these needs.

--A migrant manpower recruitment and placement system that protects and benefits the workers rather than exploiting them to the benefit of the manpower agencies and employers.

--Much greater awareness of the trafficking problem and cooperation in combating it by a few receiving countries which account for the vast majority of human bondage of Indonesians.

--More exploration of the issue of debt bondage by domestic workers within Indonesia, particularly children, and enforcement of existing laws to protect those workers. End Summary.

SOURCES

18. (U) The U.S. Mission in Indonesia contacted and received information from many GOI sources specifically for the preparation of this report, including: the People's Welfare Coordinating Ministry, the Women's Empowerment Ministry (hereinafter the Women's Ministry), the National Police (POLRI), the Attorney General's Office (AGO), the Manpower and Transmigration Ministry (the Manpower Ministry), and a number of local government offices, including in East Java and North Sumatra. Valuable information came from international and domestic NGOs, including the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), Save the Children-USA, and The Asia Foundation. Mission research also included valuable input from international organizations such as the International Labor Organization (ILO), UNICEF, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the latter of which was particularly helpful in providing law enforcement statistics. A breakdown of Mission hours spent in preparation of the report will follow separately.

19. (U) The report text follows the general outline of themes and questions provided in ref A instructions. Each section begins with a capsule "update" that briefly summarizes the most important new information included in the text.

110. (U) The Jakarta Mission point of contact on the TIP issue is Political Officer Stanley Harsha, tel. (62) 21-3435-9146, fax (62) 21-3435-9116.

111. (SBU) Report text:

I. OVERVIEW OF INDONESIA'S ACTIVITIES TO ELIMINATE TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

UPDATE

The past year did not witness significant change in overall trafficking patterns in Indonesia. There is a continuous trend of Indonesians seeking work abroad as high unemployment and poverty pushes workers overseas. The GOI curtailed the practice of allowing young women to travel to Japan under the guise of "cultural performers," according to immigration and Women's Empowerment Ministry officials, resulting in a decrease in reported trafficked women in Japan. Anti-trafficking police complained during a February 2007 meeting that the problem persists of West Kalimantan women being trafficked to Taiwan as contract brides who end up either being forced into prostitution or used by their spouses for a couple of years and then sent home; a November 2006 ACILS/ICMC report "When They Were Sold" confirms this. According to NGOs, export of "cultural performers" to Japan, who oftentimes end up being trafficked into prostitution, persisted despite official claims that this type of practice was stopped in 2006. Ministry of Manpower statistics on problems with workers returning from Taiwan and Singapore document a high number of cases of sexually

transmitted diseases. Reports have begun trickling into NGOs of women displaced by a mudflow disaster near Surabaya being forced into prostitution because of economic hardship, but it was too early to document this. Domestic trafficking continued to be concentrated in prostitution, with rampant complicity by security officials. An Atma Jaya University study in late 2006 documented illegal methods used by manpower agencies to keep workers in debt bondage from the time they are recruited, also documented by ACILS/ICMC. The Ministry of Manpower remained passive this year in stopping these and other abuses, its raids on manpower agencies having no effect on trafficking. Cases of severe abuse of Indonesians trafficked abroad, particularly to Malaysia and Saudi Arabia, continued unabated. The GOI made significant progress in efforts by its Mission in Malaysia to protect, treat and repatriate victims.

A new witness protection law enacted in August, 2006 should give prosecutors more leeway in providing testimony against traffickers while protecting victims by such means as allowing use of videotaped testimony. Many local governments and communities became galvanized to stop trafficking in 2006 as public consciousness grew perceptibly. A number of provincial and local governments passed anti-trafficking or women and child protection laws. Local governments also increased funding for prevention and treatment, and are carrying out coordinated efforts between civil society and government. Civil society across Indonesia kept the media spotlight on trafficking, resulting in many in-depth reports on television and in print. The visits to Indonesia by TIP envoy Ambassador John Miller and a UN special envoy brought attention to crucial trafficking issues to officials and the public, while U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia Lynn Pascoe raised the trafficking problem and the urgent need to pass the anti-trafficking bill during numerous meetings with several ministers. The message that trafficking is a top bilateral issue and multilateral issue for the U.S. was clearly appreciated by all relevant senior government officials.

President Yudhoyono took action to protect migrant workers through an August 2006 decree to provide them more comprehensive protection and by giving strong messages to senior officials to eliminate trafficking. Honest, conscientious officials were appointed at senior levels with the political will to carry through. For the

first time this year, significant numbers of police, prosecutors and immigration officials understood the wider meaning of human trafficking and began working together, and this education process began reaching hundreds of judges. Under the leadership of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and a Parliamentary special committee on anti-trafficking, work on the comprehensive anti-trafficking bill proceeded at a feverish pace from October to date, fully taking on board civil society's suggestions to strengthen the legislation. The bill was delayed only by final efforts to ensure the bill's language would cover all the crucial elements and could be clearly understood by law enforcers. Indonesian and international NGOs deemed the bill to be strong in all major aspects. The bill is now scheduled for final debate and possible passage on March 20.

For the third year in a row, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment published a report in 2006 on efforts to fight trafficking covering the period of April 2005 to March 2006. The GOI reported for the first time this year the anti-trafficking budget for the Ministries of Women's Empowerment and the Coordinating Ministry for Social Welfare, totaling \$4.8 million for 2007. End update.

INDONESIA FACES SIGNIFICANT TRAFFICKING CRIMES

Indonesia, a developing country and emerging democracy with the world's fourth largest population, is a place of origin for a significant number of internationally trafficked women and children, and to a lesser extent men. Indonesia is also a transit and destination country for international trafficking, although foreign victims are very small in number relative to Indonesian victims. Very significant incidents of trafficking occur within Indonesia's borders, including for prostitution. Different regions of the country are identifiable as sending, transit and/or receiving areas for internal as well as international trafficking. There were no reports during this period of trafficking in territory outside of GOI control.

Source region, transit region and receiving region of trafficking in persons in Indonesia

Update

Source regions: Various official data and observations by ACILS/ICMC (November 2006, When They Were Sold) indicate that all provinces of Indonesia are both sources and destinations. An ACILS analysis of Department of Social Affairs data on women and girls entering prostitution in 1994-95 and 2004 found it difficult to draw any firm conclusions. The biggest increase in prostitution in recent years has been into South Sumatra and Bangka Belitung, followed by Jakarta, Riau and Riau Islands. However, places which traditionally have had high levels of prostitution such as East Java and West Kalimantan continue to be destinations for traffickers even if the absolute numbers of prostitutes is not increasing because of the high replacement rate of prostitutes in such places. On the other hand, in more isolated places such as Bangka Belitung, Riau Islands, Halmahera, Moluccas and Papua, traffickers find it easier to isolate and hold women and girls in captivity, the ACILS study points out.

Eastern Indonesia continues to be a source area, transit point and destination for victims of human trafficking.

East and Central Java, North Sulawesi, Bali and Nusa Tenggara, East Kalimantan and West Kalimantan provinces are among the source areas for both domestic and international human trafficking. East Java and Central Sulawesi are transit points and used for "socialization" of women being trafficked for commercial sex work domestically and around Southeast Asia. Surabaya and Bali remain destinations for domestic trafficking victims for both commercial sex work and child labor.

Transit regions: A November 2006 ACILS report concludes that most trafficking to Malaysia and Singapore follows two major routes, known as the eastern and western corridors. The western corridor is composed of two departure points: Batam Island, Riau and Entikong, West Kalimantan for travel by air from Kuching to Kuala Lumpur. Nunukan, East Kalimantan is the eastern corridor departure point to Malaysia and Brunei. There are various air, sea and land routes from other points in Indonesia to these departure points.

Domestic trafficking routes are varied and not well defined.

Receiving regions: According to latest available IOM statistics covering March 2005 to October 2006 of 1,650 victims it has assisted, the destinations were as follows:

DestinationQQFreqQPercent

MalaysiaQ0856Q63
IndonesiaQ0432Q32
Saudi ArabiaQ041Q3
JapanQQ15Q1
SyriaQQQ 8Q1
KuwaitQQQ 4Q0

Types of ProblemsQQSaudiQKuwait UEAQTaiwan
MalaysiaQSingapore

Salaries not paidQQ895Q208Q 156Q30Q 47QQ34

Sexually abused QQ707Q47Q 62Q43Q 17QQ18
AbusedQQQ 668Q93Q 91Q61Q 47QQ36
Work not in accordance
with training/promisesQ625Q92Q 80Q283Q 91QQ108
injured at workQQ769Q73Q 72Q103Q 110QQ64

End update.

RELIABLE STATISTICS UNAVAILABLE

Reliable statistics or estimates of the overall number of victims remain unavailable, in large part because of the illegal and informal nature of trafficking, the lack of systematic research, and frequent definitional problems. The sources available for information on the prevalence of TIP include GOI agencies (particularly the Women's Ministry and the People's Welfare Coordinating Ministry), domestic and international NGOs and international organizations, including UNICEF, IOM and ILO. Most organizations' estimates rely upon a combination of extrapolation, field

experience, press reports and anecdotal evidence. Some of these organizations will not provide estimates due to the uncertainty of their information. Definitional problems, often including a lack of distinction between human trafficking, lesser abuses of workers, and illegal migration make some estimates very

unreliable.

Crude estimates of the prevalence of TIP vary tremendously, but most indicate the number of victims in the upper tens of thousands or higher. In past years, GOI documents referenced various estimates of the total number of victims, usually in the hundreds of thousands, without providing details for these figures. The GOI's 2005-2006 TIP report did not offer an estimate of victims. GOI officials charged with the issue state that they do not have reliable, overall estimates of the number of victims.

Other non-governmental estimates of the overall number of TIP victims exist, but do not have a strong basis in systematic research. Migrant worker advocacy groups occasionally cited very high and seemingly inaccurate numbers. To the extent that such organizations do not differentiate between trafficking and lesser abuses of migrant workers, their figures represent gross overestimates.

INTERNAL TRAFFICKING MOST SIGNIFICANT

Update

While reliable figures do not exist, many anti-trafficking organizations believe the number of victims of internal trafficking exceeds the number of Indonesians trafficked overseas. The U.S. Mission's observations support this conclusion. Internal trafficking is largely in prostitution. Exploitation and abuse of children in the fishing industry and of women and girls in domestic servitude are serious abuses as reported in a June 2003 Human Rights Watch report and a February 2007 Amnesty International report, but links to trafficking are not extensive. As ACILS reports (November 2006 "When They Were Sold"), the movement of women and girls is more aided by friends and relatives than by professional recruiters, and the lack of an elaborate recruiting process and fees paid by employers prohibits large profits by would be traffickers. Forced labor and worst forms of child labor better describes the situation in the fishing industry and domestic servitude than does trafficking. End update.

BOUNDARY ESTIMATES

Some groupQR- S)P victims: female migrant workers, prostitutes and child domestic workers. (There are other categories that also generate TIP victims, but not are included in these ICMC/ACILS boundary ecqgcW^kre not estimates of the number of victims (for example, most female migraB!@`D`Q})-----

TABLE 1: WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN SECTORS
VULNERABLE TO TRAFFICKING

SECTOR	Women	Children	Children
In-country Sex Workers	130k - 240k	39k - 72k	
Female Migrant Workers	1.4 - 2.1 mil.	n/a	
In-country domestic workers	860k - 1.4 mil.	215k - 350k	
	2.4 - 3.7 mil.	254k - 422k	

SOURCE: ICMC/ACILS, 2003

DATA ON PROSTITUTION

Prostitution constitutes a major source of concern for TIP in Indonesia due to the number of women and children involved; the clandestine, abusive and often forced nature of this work; the prevalence of organized crime; and the frequent awareness and/or complicity of officials and security forces (police and military) in prostitution. The boundary estimates for domestic sex workers are somewhat more precise than for other areas. ICMC/ACILS in 2003 estimated between 130,000 to 240,000 in-country prostitutes. A number of studies have consistently found that on average children make up some

25 to 30 percent of persons working as prostitutes. Using 30 percent, ICMC/ACILS arrives at boundary estimates of some 39,000 to 72,000 child prostitutes. This range also corresponds generally with a UNICEF estimate. Underage prostitutes (those under 18 years of age) are by definition TIP victims under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.

The ILO generated data on the incidence of the worst forms of child labor, including child trafficking for prostitution, through a series of "rapid assessments" conducted in 2003. The ILO carried out the assessments in limited geographic areas of concern for specific types of child labor. For child trafficking into prostitution, the ILO assessment focused on Java, home to 60 percent of Indonesia's population. The ILO field research generated "best guess" estimates for child prostitutes in these provinces, noted in Table 2.

TABLE 2: ESTIMATES OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PROSTITUTES
AND CHILD PROSTITUTES ON JAVA

LOCATION	TOTAL PROSTITUTES	TOTAL UNDERAGE	PERCENT UNDERAGE
West Java:	31,380	9,000	29
Jakarta:	28,620	5,100	18
East Java:	14,279	4,081	29
Central Java:	8,495	3,177	37
Yogyakarta	1,106	194	18
	83,880	21,552	26

SOURCE: ILO RAPID ASSESSMENTS, 2003

STUDY ON PAPUA

In remote Papua, a 2005 ICMC field study estimated that there were over 3,000 internally trafficked women and girls in the sex trade, including some 1,000 child

prostitutes, in the area's seven largest population centers. Almost all child street prostitutes were of Papuan origin. In contrast, most victims in karaoke bars and brothels originated from Indonesian areas outside Papua, with the greatest number coming from North Sulawesi. The victims normally arrived by ship, often with false promises of employment. Internal migrant workers generated much of the demand for prostitution. Geographic isolation, economic underdevelopment, and lack of civil society concern increased the severity of trafficking conditions in Papua.

Update

Riau Progress Limited

The Riau islands including Batam, Tanjung Pinang, Bintan and Karimun, a transit and destination area, did not make substantial progress in 2006. In Batam, the results of anti-trafficking activities have been mixed. NGOs report that the police chief has increasingly focused his efforts on trafficking but that the results are not yet clear. The Head of Batam's office for Women's Empowerment reported that her office handled 226 cases for Batam city in 2006. Most of these cases involved returning trafficking victims to their home provinces. YMKK, a foundation dealing with health issues for trafficking victims report that they handled 35 cases in 2006. They, too, report that most of their activities involve repatriation of victims. Only three of these cases, they report, were extensively investigated by the police; none went to trial. According to NGO representatives, plans have been made for them to work more closely with the provincial government, the police, hospitals and prosecutors in 2007.

Trafficking of women and girls to Riau Islands takes place primarily for sexual exploitation in the large numbers of entertainment establishments in Batam, Tanjung Pinang and Balai Karimun. Riau Islands are also a transit area, to Malaysia in particular. Local NGOS also report many girls being trafficked by pimps overnight to Singapore as prostitutes, using false documents. This practice is difficult to control as many Indonesian women also travel to Singapore to shop. In addition, there are reported incidences of selling babies born to women in prostitution and in labor export holding centers; it can be inferred that some babies sold are from trafficked

women and girls with unwanted pregnancies, but it cannot be stated conclusively that this form of baby selling is a form of trafficking. The ACILS November 2006 report concluded that this issue warrants further exploration. YMKK estimates there are 5,000 sex workers in Batam alone, five percent under 18 years of age. ICMC estimates that 25 percent of the women and girls working as prostitutes in massage parlors and bars are under age 18. While there is some freedom of movement for prostitutes working in red light districts to leave the enclosures of these "lokalisasi," there are many reports that they cannot leave unescorted. According to Indonesian media, NGOs, and ILO research, Malaysians and Singaporeans constitute the largest number of sex tourists in Batam and the surrounding areas like Balai Karimun and Tanjung Pinang. The area's sex industry is also heavily dependent on Indonesian clients, drawn in part from the population of hundreds of thousands of migrant workers in Batam. ILO research described Tanjung Balai Karimun, near Batam, as operating a "prostitution economy."

INDONESIAN VICTIMS IN MALAYSIA

Update

Malaysia is commonly identified as the country receiving the greatest number of Indonesian trafficking victims. According to ACILS, in Malaysia the risks of being trafficked are compounded by the fact that probably more women and girls enter Malaysia illegally than legally to seek employment. ACILS has accounts that an over-supply of Indonesian women and girls in Malaysia results in placement agencies in Malaysia offering incentives to hire more foreign maids including offering the recovery of employment fees from the employee through wage reductions. Various sources report that the first five months of wages are commonly deducted. IOM reported that from March 2005 to October 2006, 72 percent of female victims recovered from various countries had chlamydia, and a significant proportion had other STDs, including 1.7 percent who were HIV positive. Of these victims, 63 percent were recovered from Malaysia.

A 2006 bilateral MOU between Indonesia and Malaysia failed to give adequate protection to Indonesian migrant workers, opening the door to abuse. The agreement allows employers to hold workers' passports, restricting their freedom to return home, allows monthly deductions of up to 50 percent of negotiated wages to repay loans and advances, and does not specify time off.

Past NGO and GOI estimates of Indonesian prostitutes (whether trafficked or not) and child prostitutes in Malaysia have ranged in the thousands, but such estimates do not have a strong basis in substantive research. Officials at the Women's Ministry reported that during 2004 the GOI repatriated from Malaysia 1,047 allegedly trafficked prostitutes, the latest data available. IOM recorded 470 Indonesian trafficking victims, including 110 children, repatriated from Malaysia from March 2005 to February 2006. Of these, 81 were trafficked into prostitution, representing 62 adults and 19 children. Domestic workers constituted the largest number of victims, 267, repatriated with IOM assistance.

The ILO, IOM, NGOs and Indonesian diplomats in Malaysia have noted reports of illegal Indonesian migrant workers trafficked to isolated plantations and plywood factories in Malaysia. It was not clear in all instances whether such reports met the definition of trafficking or represented other types of labor abuse. In July 2006, IOM reported that 10 out of the 78 plantations workers rescued from Malaysia, 13 percent, were children.

"CULTURAL PERFORMERS" IN JAPAN

GOI stopped permitting Indonesian women to travel to Japan and South Korea as "cultural performers" in June 2006, according to the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, thus curtailing a practice that lead to being trafficked into prostitution. The Indonesian migrant workers protection NGO Kopbumi, however, could not confirm whether the number of victims has reduced or not. Kopbumi reported that even though the government had banned women to travel to Japan as "cultural performers", the practice still exists. Kopbumi estimated that about 100 women go to Japan as "cultural performers" or "apprenticeship" per month, but they have no written data to back this up. For 2005, the National Police Agency of Japan in February 2006 reported that 117 foreign women were recovered with Indonesians comprising the largest

group of victims, totaling 44 women (source: The Jakarta Post, February 10, 2006.) End update. Prior to